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SENSITIVE SIPDIS

FOR WHA/CAR AND H
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TAGS: OREP PGOV PREL ASEC HA

SUBJECT: SCENESETTER FOR CODEL CONYERS'S VISIT TO HAITI,

APRIL 6-7

REF: STATE 31244

11. (SBU) Summary: Your visit comes as the Haitian President and his new Prime Minister face difficult challenges in the aftermath of the April 2008 food riots and a devastating 2008 hurricane season. The storms and resulting flooding displaced hundreds of thousands of people and made Haiti's already dire economic situation worse. More than 75 percent of Haitians live on less than two U.S. dollars per day. Violent crime and drug trafficking remain problems despite significant progress on security issues since President Rene Preval's election in In the midst of Haiti's rebuilding efforts, its electoral authority is preparing long-overdue partial Senate elections, scheduled for April 19. Visits in March by UN SYG Ban Ki-moon, former President Clinton, and UN Security Council representatives have focused U.S. and international attention on Haiti just as it heads toward an April 14 conference of donor countries in Washington, D.C. Your visit will afford you the opportunity to survey USG efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and the rule of law in Haiti and encourage President Preval to make progress on important reforms. End summary.

MODEST PROGRESS INTERRUPTED BY RIOTS, FLOODS

- $\underline{\P}2$. (SBU) Haiti is the hemisphere's poorest and most politically troubled country. After the collapse of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986, Haiti experienced a succession of military regimes and popularly-elected governments, interspersed with coups d'etat, the departure of an elected President in the midst of an armed rebellion, and other destabilizing events. Even democratically-elected leaders sometimes resorted to political violence or failed to hold constitutionally mandated elections. All these factors have exacerbated political instability and economic stagnation. the two years following the departure of then-President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 2004 were marked by violence and occasional disorder, the government that resulted from the presidential and legislative elections of 2006 gave Haiti a new chance to consolidate political stability and stimulate investment and economic growth. However, rioting in April 2008, caused in part by rising food and energy prices, brought political progress to a halt. While there was genuine social grievance behind the April protests, much of the associated violence was organized by political forces seeking to oust then-PM Jacques-Edouard Alexis and capitalize on the resulting instability. The Senate voted to dismiss PM Alexis on April 12.
- 13. (SBU) In the five months following the dismissal of former PM Alexis and his cabinet, the Haitian government was paralyzed by political gridlock. Parliament rejected two Prime Ministerial candidates on specious grounds. After

Preval nominated his third candidate, Michele Pierre-Louis, Haiti was hit by a series of hurricanes and tropical storms in August and September. The resulting flooding killed almost 800 people, displaced hundreds of thousands more, crippled the country's transportation infrastructure, devastated livestock and crops, and caused nearly USD 1 billion in damage. In the face of strong public pressure to confirm a government able to respond to the hurricane damage, Parliament confirmed Pierre-Louis on September 5.

MIXED RESULTS ON COUNTERNARCOTICS, SECURITY EFFORTS

- 14. (U) With considerable USG assistance, the Preval administration continues the struggle to overcome pervasive corruption, weak governance, and mismanagement, but this effort was complicated by the food riots in April and the impasse that resulted from the dismissal of former PM Alexis. Haiti's government, however, with assistance from international donors -- principally the United States, the UN peacekeeping force, and Canada -- continues to promote the restoration of the rule of law. The Haitian National Police (HNP) is midway through a reform plan to vet HNP personnel and build up the police force to 14,000 officers by the end of 2011, but weaknesses in law enforcement and the judiciary remain.
- 15. (SBU) Narcotics trafficking is a growing problem in Haiti. Despite Haitian and international efforts, Haiti's 1,125 miles of shoreline, poorly controlled seaports, and numerous clandestine airstrips make it an attractive transshipment hub for drug traffickers to move cocaine and marijuana to the United States. U.S. counternarcotics efforts focus on

strengthening the HNP (including the Haitian Coast Guard) and providing technical assistance with anti-corruption and strategic planning measures. The Drug Enforcement Agency shares intelligence with Haitian authorities, conducts bilateral investigations, and provides training. The Embassy's Narcotics Affairs Section (NAS) procures vehicles and equipment for the HNP, funds police academy and in-service training, and refurbishes and constructs police stations. NAS also oversees U.S. Treasury training and technical assistance to investigators, judges, and prosecutors involved in money laundering and corruption $% \left(x\right) =\left(x\right)$ cases. Defense Department representatives are working to increase the capacity of the Haitian Coast Guard, a sub-unit of the HNP, to interdict narcotics shipments and illegal migrants. Upcoming funding from the Merida Initiative will help Haitian authorities establish a base in Port-de-Paix, on Haiti's northern coast.

16. (U) The UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) is the product of unprecedented hemispheric security cooperation among regional partners of the United States. Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and Peru contribute over half of MINUSTAH's 7,000 troops. This UN mission, which we strongly support, makes a crucial contribution to Haiti's security and stability. Under the leadership of SRSG Hedi Annabi and Force Commander Major General Floriano Peixoto Veira Neto (Brazil), over 7,000 MINUSTAH troops and 2,000 police remain critical to maintaining the minimal security Haiti needs, filling the gap left by inadequate force levels and capabilities of the HNP. In MINUSTAH's UN police operations pillar, Formed Police Units (gendarmerie-type police units from individual contributor countries) aid the HNP with riot control operations, as they did during the April 2008 disturbances. UN Police (UNPOL) advisors from various countries, including the United States, provide support to HNP operations.

ECONOMY STAGNANT

 \P 7. (SBU) The two decades of political instability following the collapse of the Duvalier dictatorship caused economic regression and stagnation to the point that Haitian GDP per capita, today around USD 700 per year, is barely higher

than it was in the late 1950s. More than 80 percent of the population lives below the poverty level, and at least 60 percent of the population is unemployed or underemployed. The Preval government has focused primarily on security but has done little to facilitate foreign and domestic investment and create jobs. Current perceptions of security levels, inadequate infrastructure, and an inhospitable business climate deter investment in Haiti today. The August storms reduced the 2008 growth rate to 1.3 percent, less than the 2.5 percent population growth rate. We have encouraged President Preval and the Government to help Haitian and foreign investors take maximum advantage of the second Haiti Opportunity Through Partnership Encouragement Act (HOPE II), a trade preference bill that allows many types of textiles manufactured in Haiti duty-free access to U.S. markets. That program thus far has created about 11,000 jobs.

LONG-DELAYED ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR APRIL

- 18. (SBU) Amidst the country's rebuilding efforts, Haitian authorities are preparing to hold elections for the 12 vacant seats in the 30-member Senate, a void that has made it difficult for that body to muster a quorum. Haiti's electoral authority, the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP), is organizing the April 19 balloting. The USG has already made USD 4 million available to help fund the elections, and international donors will contribute approximately USD 11 million of the budgeted USD 16 million in election-related expenses. The terms of another third of the Senate, along with the entire Chamber of Deputies, will expire in January 2010, necessitating yet another round of elections in November of this year.
- 19. (SBU) The April elections have generated considerable controversy, primarily because the CEP disallowed the candidacies of all applicants from Fanmi Lavalas, the fractured political party of former President Aristide. CEP officials announced February 5 that Lavalas candidates had all failed to provide an explicit authorization by Aristide to represent the party in the coming elections. Aristide, currently in exile in South Africa, declined to provide explicit authorization for any candidate, or to formally delegate that authority to any of the Lavalas

leaders present in Haiti. The fact that two factions of Fanmi Lavalas presented competing lists of candidates further undermined the party's case. The CEP did not relent to calls from the major international donors to make the elections more inclusive. Protests organized by Lavalas activists have so far failed to inspire significant grassroots support.

DONOR CONFERENCE SET FOR APRIL

110. (SBU) A donor conference is scheduled for April 14 in Washington to help Haiti address the significant damage wrought by the 2008 riots and hurricane season, and to shore up a difficult budget year for the Haitian Government. Haiti is likely to use the conference to press for direct budget support, although international donors generally prefer to work through international NGOs, public international organizations, or UN agencies in view of the limited technical capacity of GOH institutions.

THE ASSISTANCE PICTURE: RULE OF LAW/GOVERNANCE

111. (U) Our assistance efforts in Haiti -- financed by USAID, CDC, the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL/NAS), and the U.S. Coast Guard -- seek to implement reforms, build public institutions, improve law enforcement and corrections capability, and help deliver basic services. Rule of Law programs target Haiti's justice system by helping increase judicial authorities' administrative, management and

technical capacity. Good Governance programs provide technical assistance and training to Haiti's Parliament in the areas of legislative drafting, legal and judicial reform, and rules of procedure. Programs aimed at conflict mitigation address poverty and gang-related violence through creation of short- and long-term employment and transfer of job skills trough labor-intensive reconstruction of social and productive infrastructure. Another program targets the Provisional Electoral Council to help it solidify its organization and modernize the voter registration process. Civil society programs assist a variety of local media, regional journalist associations, and public service associations, including those that monitor corruption.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

112. (U) The steep rise in food prices in 2008 followed by the four hurricanes sharply exacerbated Haiti's chronic food insecurity, to which approximately 3 million Haitians are now exposed. USAID contributed USD 45 million in emergency food aid and another USD 14 million for post-hurricane recovery. USAID is continuing its programs to build disaster early warning, response and mitigation capacity. The Ambassador officiated in November at the ground-breaking ceremony for an Emergency Operations Center for Haiti's disaster response agencies. Following the hurricanes, Congress appropriated an additional USD 96 million over three years for the restoration of public services, repairs to public use infrastructure, provision of income-generating activities, asset restoration, and support to affected families.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION/ECONOMIC GROWTH

113. (U) Basic health programs help increase access to essential health services in 72 public sector clinics and 80 NGO clinics. Nearly 50 percent of Haiti's population receives at least some health services financed by the USG. USAID-financed education programs include a new basic education project to strengthen the Ministry of Education's management and supervisory system, help it extend supervision over the vast private-sector education system, and provide scholarships. Social assistance programs support Haiti's most vulnerable citizens. Economic growth programs target trade and investment, financial sector programs for small and medium enterprises, and programs for agricultural productivity and marketing. Reducing environmental degradation is the goal of USD 25 million in programs that focus on restoring watersheds to thwart periodic flooding.

HIV/AIDS RELIEF

114. (U) Haiti has the highest rate of HIV/AIDS infection in the Western Hemisphere. The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) will provide just short of USD 100

million in FY 2009 to prevent infections and place HIV-positive persons into treatment. Implemented by USAID and CDC, PEPFAR programs target HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, but also benefit large parts of Haiti's health care system. The PEPFAR program in Haiti is the largest in the hemisphere.

POLICE REFORM/CORRECTIONS

115. (SBU) The U.S. is the lead donor in implementing the MINUSTAH/Haitian National Police (HNP) reform plan, which foresees building up the HNP from its current strength of 9,600 to 14,000 officers by the end of 2011. In concert with MINUSTAH's mandate to enhance Haiti's border security, the U.S. Coast Guard provides training for the Haitian Coast Guard, financed by INL/NAS. Facility renovations, additional boats, and a new operating base on the north coast will be funded by INL/NAS in 2009. The U.S. made a commitment in 2007 to assist in improving the conditions and respect for human rights in Haiti's prison system, and remains the lead

donor to Haiti in this sector. ${\tt SANDERSON}$